

# The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, Editor.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

EMILY ROBINSON, Publishing Agent.

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## Selections.

Extract from Kossuth's Farewell Address.

I, therefore, who do not despair of my own country's future, though it be overwhelmed with misfortune, I certainly have no unwavering faith in the destinies of humanity, and though the mournful example of so many fallen nations instructs us, that neither the diffusion of knowledge, nor the progress of industry; neither prosperity, nor power, nor even freedom itself, can secure a future to nations, still I say there is one thing which can secure it: there is one law the obedience to which would prove a rock upon which the freedom and happiness of nations may rest to the end of their days. And that law, ladies and gentlemen, is the law proclaimed by our Saviour; that rock is the unperverted religion of Christ. But while the consolation of this sublime truth falls meekly upon my soul, like as the moon-light falls upon the smooth sea, I humbly claim your forbearance, ladies and gentlemen; I claim it in the name of the Almighty Lord, to hear from my lips a mournful truth.

It may displease you; it may offend, but still truth is truth. Offended vanity may blame me; power may frown at me, and pride may call my boldness arrogant, but still truth is truth; and I, bold in my unperverted humanity, will proclaim that truth; I will proclaim it from land to land and from sea to sea; I will proclaim it with the faith of the martyrs of old, till the seed of my word falls upon the conscience of men.—Let come what will, may I say with Luther: God may help me, I cannot otherwise. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, the law of our Saviour, the religion of Christ, can secure a happy future to nations. But, alas! there is yet no Christian people on earth—not a single one among all. I have spoken the word. It is harsh, but true. Nearly two thousand years have passed since Christ has proclaimed the eternal decree of God, to which the happiness of mankind is bound, and has sanctified it with his own blood, and still there is not one single nation on earth which would have enacted into its law-book that eternal decree.

Men believe in the mysteries of religion, according to the creed of their church; they go to church and they pray and give alms to the poor, and drop the balm of consolation into the wounds of the afflicted, and believe they do all that the Lord commanded to do, and believe they are Christians. No! Some few may be, but their nation is not—their country is not; the era of Christianity has yet to come, and when it comes, then, only then, will be the future of nations sure.—For he it from me to misapprehend the immense benefit which Christian religion, such as it already is, has wrought in mankind's history. It has influenced the private character of men, and the social condition of nations; it was the nurse of a new civilization, and softening the manners and morals of men, its influence has been felt even in the worst quarter of history—in war.—The continual massacres of the Greek and Roman kings and chiefs, and the extermination of nations by them—the all-devastating warfare of the Timour and Genghis Khans—are in general not more to be met with; only my own dear fatherland was doomed to experience once more the cruelties of the Timour and Genghis Khans out of the sacrilegious hands of the dynasty of Austria, which calumniate Christianity by calling itself Christian. But though that beneficial influence of Christianity we have cheerfully to acknowledge, yet it is still not to be disputed that the law of Christ does yet nowhere rule the Christian world.

Montesquieu himself, who nobody could charge with being partial to republics, avows that despotism is incompatible with the Christian religion, because the Christian religion commands meekness, and despotism claims arbitrary power to the whims and passions of a frail mortal; and still it is more than 1,500 years since the Christian religion has become dominant, and through that long period despotism has been pre-eminently dominant; you can scarcely show one single truly democratic republic of any power which had subsisted but for a hundred years, exercising any influence upon the condition of the world. Constantine, raising the Christian religion to Rome's imperial throne, did not restore the Romans to their primitive virtues. Constantine became the sewer of vice; Christian worship did not change the despotic habits of kings.

The Tituses, the Trajans, the Antonines, appeared seldom on Christian thrones; on the contrary, mankind has seen, in the name of religion, lighted the piles of persecution, and blazing torches of intolerance; the earth overspread with corpses of the million victims of fanaticism; the fields watered with blood; the cities wrapped in flames, and empires ravaged with unrelenting rage. Why? Is it Christian religion which caused these deplorable facts, branding the brow of partly degraded, partly outraged humanity? No. It was precisely the contrary; the fact that the religion of Christ never yet was practically taken for an all overruling law, the obedience to which, out-weighing every oth-

er consideration, would have directed the policy of nations, that fact is the source of evil, whence the oppression of millions has overflowed the earth, and which makes the future of the present, of the freest nation, to be like a house built upon sand.

Every religion has two parts. One is the dogmatical; the part of worship; the other is the moral part. The first, the dogmatic part, belonging to those mysterious regions, which the arm of human understanding cannot reach, because they belong to the dominion of belief, and that belongs where the dominion of knowledge ends—that part of religion, therefore, the dogmatic one, should be left to every man to settle between God and his own conscience. It is a sacred field, wherein worldly power never should dare to trespass, because there it has no power to enforce its will. Force can murder; it can make laws and hypotheses, but no violence on earth can force a man to believe what he does not believe. Yet the other part of religion—the moral part—is quite different. That teaches duties towards ourselves and towards our fellow-men.

It can be therefore not indifferent to the human family; it can be not indifferent to the Christian community, if these duties be fulfilled or not, and no nation can, with full right, claim the title of a Christian nation, no government the title of a Christian government, which is not founded on the basis of Christian morality, and which takes it not for an all overruling law to fulfill the moral duties ordered by the religion of Christ towards men and nations, who are but the community of men, and toward mankind, which is the community of nations. Now, look to those dread pages of history, stained with the blood of millions, spilt under the blasphemous pretext of religion; was it the interest to vindicate the rights and enforce the duties of Christian morality which raised the hand of nation against nation of government against government? No, it was the lustre of greed and the fury of dogmatism.

Nations and governments rose to propagate their manner to worship God, and their own mode to believe the inscrutable mysteries of eternity, but nobody has yet raised a finger to punish the sacrilegious violation of the moral laws of Christ, nobody ever stirred to claim the fulfillment of the duties of Christian morality towards nations. There is much speaking about the separation of Church and State, and yet on close examination, we shall see that there was, and there is, scarcely one single government entirely free from the direct or indirect influence of one or other religious denomination, scarcely one which would not at least bear a predilection, if not countenance with favor, one or another creed—but creed, and always creed. The mysteries of dogmatism, and the manners of worship enter into these considerations, they enter even into the politics, and turn the scales of hatred and affection; but certainly there is not one single nation, nor one single government, the policy of which would ever have been regulated by that law of morality which our Saviour has proclaimed as the eternal law of God which shall be obeyed in all the relations of men to men. But you say the direct or indirect amalgamation of Church and State proved to be dangerous to nations in Christian and for Christian times, because it affected the individual rights of men, and among them, the dearest of all, the liberty of conscience and the freedom of thought. Well, of this danger at least the future of your country is free; because here, at least, in this, your happy land, religious liberty exists. Your institutions left no power to your government to interfere with the religion of your citizens. Here every man is free to worship God as he chooses to do.

And that is true, and it is a great glory of your country that it is true. It is a fact which entitles to the hope that your nation will revive the law of Christ even on earth. However, the guaranty which your constitution affords to religious liberty is but a negative part of a Christian government. There are, besides that, positive duties to be fulfilled. He who does no violence to the conscience of man, has but the negative merit of a man, doing no wrong; but as he who does not murder, does not steal, and does not covet what his neighbor's is, but by not stealing, not murdering, not coveting what his neighbor's is, we did yet no positive good; a man who does not murder has not yet occasion to the title of virtuous man.—And here is precisely the infinite merit of the Christian religion. While Moses, in the name of the Almighty God, ordered but negative decrees toward fellow-men, the Christian religion commands positive virtue. Its divine injunctions are not performed by not doing wrong; it desires us to do good.—The doctrine of Jesus Christ is sublime in its majestic simplicity. "Thou shalt love God above all, and love thy neighbor as thou lovest thyself."

This sublime doctrine is the religion of love. It is the religion of clarity. "Though I speak with the tongues of angels, and have not clarity, I am become as sounding brass, and tinkling cymbals. Though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge, and have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and give my body to be burned, and have not clarity, it profiteth me nothing." Thus speaks the Lord, and thus speaking he gives the law.—"Do unto others as thou desirest others to do unto thee." Now, in the name of Him who gave this law to humanity, to build up the eternal bliss and temporal happiness of mankind, in the name of that Eternal Legislator, I ask, is it that clarity, in that fundamental law of Christianity, any limit of distinction drawn in man in his power, and man in his natural capacity? Is it but a law for a man where he is alone, and can do but little good? Is it not law where two are together, and can do more good; no law more when millions are together? Am I in my personal adversities; is my aged

mother in her helpless desolation; are my homeless sisters whom you feed to-day, that they may work to-morrow; are you your neighbors, unto whom you do as you would others in a similar position do unto yourself? And is every one of my down-trodden people a neighbor to every one of you; but all my people collectively, is it not a neighbor to you? And is my nation not a neighbor to your nation? Is my down-trodden land a neighbor to your down-trodden land. Oh! my God, men speak of the Christian religion and style themselves Christians, and yet make a distinction between virtue in private life and virtue in public life; as if the divine law of clarity would have been given only for certain small relations, and not for all the relations between men and men.

"There he is again, with his eternal complaints about his country's wrongs," may perhaps somebody remark: "This is an assembly of charity, assembled to ease his private woes of family, and there he is again speaking of his country's wrongs, and alluding to our foreign policy, about which he knows our views to be divided. Thus I may be charged."

My "private family woes!" But all my woes, and all the woes of my family, are concentrated in the unvarnished oppression of my fatherland. You are an assembly of clarity, it is true; and the Almighty may requite you for it, but being a charitable assembly can you blame me that the filial and fraternal devotion of my heart, in taking with gratitude the labor of consolation which your charity pours into the bleeding wounds of my family, looks around to heal those wounds, the torturing pains of which you ease, but which cannot be cured but by justice and clarity done to my fatherland.

Shall this dead heart of mine be contented by leaving to my homeless brother and sisters the means to have their bread by honest labor, their daily bread salted with the bitter tears of exile? And shall I not care to leave them the hope that their misfortune will have an end; that they will see again their beloved home; that they will see it independent and free, and live where their fathers lived; and sleep the tranquil sleep of death in that soil with which the ashes of their fathers mingle? Shall I not care to give the consolation to my aged mother, that when her soon departing soul, crowned with the garland of martyrdom, looks down from the home of the blest, the united joy of the heavens will thrill through her immortal spirit, seeing her dear, dear Hungary free? Your views are divided on the subject, it may be; but can your views be divided on the subject that it is the command of God to love your neighbors as you love yourselves? That is the duty of Christians, that is the fundamental principle of the Christian religion, to do unto others as you desire others to do unto you. And if there is, there can be no difference of opinion in regard to the principle; if no one in this vast assembly—whatever be the platform of his party—ever would disclaim this principle, will any one blame me that in the name of Christ I am bold to claim the application of that principle? I should not speak of politics? Well, I have spoken of Christianity. Your politics agree with the Law of Christ, or they do not agree with it. If they don't agree, then your politics are not Christian; and if they agree, then I cause no division among you.

And I shall not speak of my peoples wrongs? Oh! my people—thou heart of my heart, and life of my life—there are bent the thoughts of my mind, and they will remain bent to thee, though all the world may frown. To these are pledged all the affections of my heart, and they will be pledged to thee as long as one drop of blood throbs within this heart. Thine are the crimes of my waking hours; thine are the dreams of my restless sleep. Shall I forget thee, but for a moment? Never! Never! Cursed be the moment, and cursed be I in that moment, in which thou wouldst be forgotten by me!

Thou art oppressed, O my fatherland! because the principles of Christianity have not been executed in practice; because the duties of Christianity have not been fulfilled; because the precepts of Christianity did not control the policy of nations; because there are many impious governments to offend the law of Christ, but there was none to do the duties commanded by Christ.

Thou art fallen, Oh my country, because Christianity has yet to come; but it is not yet come—nowhere! Nowhere on earth! And with the sleep eye of misfortune piercing the dark veil of the future, and with the tongue of Cassandra relating what I see, I cry it out to high Heaven and shout it out to the Earth.—Nations, proud of your momentary power; proud of your freedom; proud of your prosperity. Your power is vain, your freedom is vain, your industry, your wealth, your prosperity are vain; all this will not save you from sharing the mournful fate of those old nations not less powerful than you, not less free, not less prosperous than you,—and still fallen, as you yourself will fall,—all vanished as you will vanish, like a bubble thrown up from the deep! There is only the law of Christ, there are only the duties of Christianity which can secure your future, by securing at the same time humanity.

Duties must be fulfilled, else they are an idle word. And who would dispute that there is a positive duty in that law "Love thy neighbor as thou lovest thyself?" Do unto others as thou wouldst that others do unto thee. Now, if these are duties in that law, which shall execute them, if free and powerful nations, do not execute them? No government can meddle with the private relations of its millions of citizens so much as to enforce the positive virtue of Christian charity in the thousand fold complications of private life. That will be impossible; and our Saviour did not teach impossibilities.—By commanding charity towards fellow men in human relation, he commanded it also to governments.

It is in their laws towards their own citizens; it is in their policy towards other nations; that governments and nations can fulfill those duties of Christianity; and what they can, that they should. How could governments hope to see their own citizens and other nations observing toward them the positive duties of Christian morality, when they themselves do not observe them against others; when oppressed nations, the victims, not of their own faults, but of the grossest violation of the law of Christ, look in vain around to find out a nation among Christian nations, and a government among Christian governments, doing unto them, in the hour of their supreme need, as the Saviour said that it is duty to do unto others in every case.

Yes, gentlemen, as long as the principles of Christian morality are not carried up into the international relations—as long as the fragile wisdom of political exigencies overrules the doctrines of Christ, there is no freedom on earth firm, and the future of no nation sure. But let a powerful nation, like yours, raise Christian morality into its public conduct, that nation will have a future against which the very gates of hell itself will never prevail. The morality of its policy will react upon the morality of its individuals, and preserve it from domestic vice, which, without that prop, ever yet has attended too much prosperity, and ever yet has followed by a dreadful fall. The morality of its policy will support justice and freedom on earth; and thus augmenting the number of free nations, all acting upon the same principle, its very virtue will be placed under the guarantee of them all, and preserve it from foreign danger—which is better to prevent than to repel.

And its future will be placed under the guarantee of the Almighty himself, who, true to his Eternal Decrees, proved through the downfall of so many mighty nations, that He always punished the fathers in the coming generations; but alike beautiful and just, will not and cannot forsake those whom he gave power to carry out his laws on earth, and who willingly answered his divine call.—Power in itself never yet was sure. It is right which makes power firm; and it is right which makes it right secure. The task of Peter's apostolate is accomplished—the Churches are founded in the Christian world. The task of Paul's apostolate is accomplished—the abuses of fanaticism and intolerance are redressed. But the task of him whom the Saviour most loved is not yet accomplished. The gospel of clarity rules not yet the Christian world; and without clarity, Christianity you know, is but sounding brass and tinkling cymbal!

Oh, Clarity! thou fairest gift of Heaven; thou fairest link between nations; thou rock of their security; thou deliverer of the oppressed; when comes thy realm? Where is the man whom the Lord has chosen to establish thy realm? Who is the man whom the Lord has chosen to realize the religion, the tenets of which the most beloved disciple of the Saviour has recorded from his divine lips; who is the man to reform, not Christian creeds, but Christian morality? Man! No, that is no task for a man, but for a nation. Man may teach a doctrine; but that doctrine of clarity is taught, and taught with such sublime simplicity that no sectarian yet has disputed its truth. Historians have been quarreling about mysteries, and lost empires through their disputes.

The Greeks were controversially disputing whether the Holy Ghost descended from the Father alone, or from the Father and Son; and Mahomet battered the walls of Byzantium, they heard it not; he witnessed the cross from Santa Sophia; they saw it not, till the scimiter of the Turk stopped the rage of the quarrel with the blow of death—in other quarters they went on disputing and deciding with mutual anathemas the question of transfiguration, and many other mysteries, which, being mysterious, constitute the private dominion of belief; but the doctrine of clarity none of them disputes, there they all agree—may, in the idle times of scholastic subtlety, they have been quarrelling about the most extravagant fancies of a scorched imagination. Mighty follies have been written about the problem, how many angels could dance upon the top of a needle without touching each other.

The folly of subtlety went so far as to profane the sacred name of God, by disputing if he, being omnipotent, has the power to sin? If, in the holy wafer, he be present dressed under the shape of bread, he would have chosen the incarnation in the shape of a goat, instead of a man, how would he have preached; how acted miracles, and how had been crucified? And when they went to the theme of investigating if it was a whip or a lash with which the angels have whipped St. Jerome for trying to imitate in his writings the pagan Cicero, it was but after centuries that Abbot Cantant dared to write that if St. Jerome was whipped at all, he was whipped for having badly imitated Cicero.

Still the doctrine of Christian clarity is so subtle in its simplicity, that not even the subtlety of scholasticism dared ever to profane it by any controversy, and still that sublime doctrine is not executed, and the religion of clarity not realized yet. The task of this glorious progress is only to be done by a free and powerful nation, because it is a task of action, and not of teaching; individual man can but execute it in the narrow compass of the small relations of private life, it is only the power of a nation which can raise it to become a ruling law on earth; and before this is done the triumph of Christianity is not arrived—and without that triumph, freedom and prosperity even of the mightiest nation is not for a moment safe from internal decay or from foreign violence.

Which is the nation to achieve that triumph of Christianity by protecting justice of clarity? Whom the Lord has blessed above all, and from whom he much expects, because he has given her much.

Ye ministers of the Gospel, who devoted your life to expound the eternal truth of the

book of life, remember my humble words, and remind those who, with pious hearts, listen to your sacred words, that half virtue is no virtue at all, and that there is no difference in the duties of clarity between public and private life.

Ye missionaries, who devoted your life to the propagation of Christianity, before you embark for the dangers of far inhospitable shores, remind those whom you leave, that the example of a nation exercising right and justice on earth by clarity, would be the mightiest propaganda of Christian religion.

Ye patriots loving your country's future, and anxious about her security, remember the admonitions of history—remember that the freedom, the power, and the prosperity in which your country glories, is no new apparition on earth; others also had it, and yet they are gone. The prudence with which your forefathers have founded this Commonwealth, the courage with which you develop it, other nations also have shown, and still they are gone.

And ye ladies; ye fairest incarnation of the spirit of love, which vivifies the Universe, remember my words; the heart of man is given in your tender hands. You mould it in its infancy. You imprint the lasting work of character upon man's brow. You ennoble his youth; you are the guardian angels of his early age. All your vocation is love, and your life is clarity. The religion of clarity wants your apostolate, and requires your aid. It is to your aid. It is to you I appeal, and leave the sublime topic of my humble reflection to the meditation of your Christian hearts.

And thus, my task of to-day is done.—Man shall earn the means of life by the sweat of his brow. Thus shall my family. Your clarity of to-day has opened the way to it. The school which my mother, if God spares her life, will superintend, and in which two of my sisters will teach, and the humble farm which my third sister and her family shall work, will be the gift of your clarity to-day.

A stony weight of cares is removed from my breast. Oh! be blessed for it, be thanked for it, in the name of them all who have lost everything, but not their trust to God, and not the benefit of being able to work.—My country will forgive me that I have taken from her the time of one day's work,—to give bread to my aged mother and to my homeless sisters, the poor victims of unrelenting tyranny. Returning to Europe, I may find my own little children in a condition that again the father will have to take the spade or the pen into his hand to give them bread.

And my fatherland will again forgive me, that that time is taken from her. That is all what I take from her; nothing else what is given, or what belongs to her. And the day's work which I take from my country, I will restore it by a night's labor. To-day, the son and the brother has done his task; you have required his labor by a generous clarity; the son and the brother thanks you for it, and the patriot, to resume his task, bids you a hearty, warm, farewell.

Speech of Hon. J. B. Giddings of Ohio,

In the House of Representatives, June 23, 1852.

The House being on the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Deficiency Bill—

Mr. GIDDINGS said,

Mr. Chairman: Notwithstanding the Whigs and Democrats are acting in perfect harmony with each other, they have united in tendency to the friends of liberty important issues. One of those issues is so extraordinary, that it demands my first attention. The proposition is to stifle all further examination of chattel slavery, and is expressed by the Democrats in the following language:

"Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

The Whigs resolved—

"That . . . we will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever, and however made."

We, sir, the free Democracy, will agitate the subject of slavery and its correlative, freedom. Here, sir, is an issue formed between us. I intend to speak plainly of slavery, of its most revolting features. I will endeavor to use no offensive language, but will talk of the practice followed by men in the District, of purchasing slave women, and then selling their own children into bondage. Now, when I do this, the Democrats are bound to resist, and the Whigs to discountenance, my efforts. In order that we may start with a perfect understanding of this conflict, I desire to understand the manner in which the Democrats will manifest their resistance. I am now agitating this subject, and what will you do about it?

Now, I hope gentlemen will not feel particular delicacy in showing their resistance. Don't be alarmed, gentlemen; just stand up here and now before the country; show your resistance. Be not afraid, gentlemen—I am less than the stripping of Israel, who went out to meet Goliath. You stand pledged to resist God's truth—to silence the tongues of freemen, and your infamous attempts to stifle the freedom of speech. And now, who speaks for the carrying out of this resolution?

Mr. Chairman, we may "call spirits from the vasty deep," but they will not come. I repeat to the Democrats: I want to know what you are going to do. You are bound to resist.

Mr. Durkee, (in his seat.) Their tongues are tied.

Mr. Giddings. You are a friend of liberty and not authorized to speak for them. [Laughter.] I want some one to speak for them who

is authorized to speak for their party. I ask respectfully of my colleague from Circleville district, what do you mean to do? How will you resist me?

Mr. Olds. I am well aware there is no time to reply to an interrogatory while the gentleman is making a speech. If he asks me how, as an Ohio Democrat, I will resist the agitation of the slavery question here and elsewhere, I will answer him in a minute. I shall resist it heartily. Voting against the suspension of the rules for the introduction of the apple of discord into this House. I shall resist it at home by telling my people to stand by the compromises of the Constitution, and "rather bear the ill we have than fly to others we know not of."

Mr. Giddings. Mr. Chairman, my colleague has given an answer entirely satisfactory.—He will vote against any suspension of the rules for introducing the apple of discord.—He is perfectly safe. No motion was ever made to suspend the rules for that purpose, or ever will be. But I understand, that when in committee of the whole, as we are now, and a member agitates the slave question, he will sit quietly by and say nothing. His resistance will be like that of my Whig friends, to slave-holding dictation; he will sit still and bear it, silently acquiesce as they now do. This is the very resistance which I approve. It is safe—it will injure no one.—But at home, he goes for the compromise, for negotiation. He himself is to become an agitator. Well, sir, I wish the Democratic party joy, in having such agitators among them.

The Whigs, in their Convention, also resolved that they "will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever, & however the attempt may be made." The language of this resolution differs from that of the Democracy, but its spirit and object is the same. They intend to suppress the freedom of speech here and among the people. On this point the two great parties of the nation have cordially united. A coalition for a more odious purpose could not have been formed. Duty to myself, to this body and the country, demands an exposure of this conspiracy against the Constitution, against the rights of members here, against the people.

Mr. Chairman, is it contemplated to silence the popular voice in this Hall? If that be not the case these resolutions mean nothing. They are mere "brutum fulmen," made for show, to frighten men of weak nerves. They may do very well among doughfaces; but when those parties attempt to frighten Free Soilers, they should better understand their opponents.

The Whigs and Democrats united have sufficient numbers to vote us down, to silence us; but they will not do it. They dare not do it. The Constitution has provided "that Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech." That Constitution we have sworn to support, and by the blood of our ancestors we will maintain it. Whigs and Democrats may combine to trample that sacred instrument under their feet, by suppressing the freedom of speech; but, sir, they have not the moral power to effect their object.

Agitation or discussion is not only to be put down here, but among the people; they are to have no more anti-slavery meetings; no more Free-Soil conventions; no more sermons in favor of God's law; no more prayers to heaven for the oppressed of our land; the Declaration of Independence is to be burned; our printing establishments broken up, and our social circles are to speak no more of rights of all men to enjoy life and liberty. A new political police is to be established, and the American people are to be placed under slaveholding surveillance. Our literary writers are to be driven into exile.—But I am paying undeserved attention to these base, these puerile attempts to stifle discussion on the subject of humanity. I hold these resolutions in utterable contempt.—I trample them under my feet. I spit upon them. Their authors, those who adopted them, had better have been attending some Sabbath school, gaining intelligence and qualifying themselves for useful employment.

And here I will leave this ridiculous attempt to nip the despots of Europe, by stifling discussion upon the absorbing question of liberty.

I will now proceed to examine the reasons why these resolutions were adopted.

Why should these parties in their National Conventions take Congress, the Constitution, and people under their control, and command universal silence upon certain measures? Evidently because investigation and discussion would, endanger the future success of these organizations. The very proposition shows that they have no confidence in the people. The man or party who strives to silence discussion, to shut out truth, admits that he is in error. No man or party who feels that he is right, hesitates to let the whole truth be known. He feels that he will be vindicated by the development of truth, and his honor will be sustained.

But why should the Whigs and Democrats unite to keep the truth from the public eye in regard to the compromise measures? Why, sir, the first of those measures was that establishing territorial government in Utah, admitting slavery and the slave trade to be established there, on soil consecrated to freedom by Mexican laws. I well know the people were told that slavery could not go there, as it was excluded by the laws of God. Well, sir, official documents now show that assertion to be a gigantic falsehood. The census returns show that slavery exists there; that man is there held in bondage, and children made subjects of barter. Now, sir, we the free Democrats insist that slavery and the slave trade should be excluded from that territory. The motto of our party is, "No slave territory." We do not believe it is right to thus deal in God's image. But this law, which permits these outrages, the Whigs and Democrats say is a final settle-